



L E T T E R

T O T H E

D U K E O F G R A F T O N .

[Price Eighteen-Pence.]



THE

BOOK OF

A

FIRST LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

accurs'd

And in a curst hour he dares the attempt,
Which like a dev'lish engine back recoils
Upon himself: horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
The hell within him; conscience wakes despair
That slumbered, wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, AND WHAT MUST BE.

L O N D O N,

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[Price Eighteen-Pence.]

MDCCLXX.

FIRST LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF GRAYSTON

My Lord,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the matter of the Duke of Devonshire's estate, and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

J. O. D. M.

QUID est in Antonio præter Libidinem, Crudelitatem, Avaritiam, Audaciam? Ex his totus conglutinatus est: nihil apparet in eo ingenuum, nihil moderatum, nihil liberum, nihil pudicum.

Qua propter quoniam Res in id Discrimen adducta est, utrum pœnas Reipublicæ luat, an nos serviamus: aliquando, per deos immortales! Civis carissimi, patrium animum, virtutemque capiamus, ut aut Libertatem propriam Nostri et generis et nominis recuperemus, aut mortem servituti anteponamus.

Multa qua in liberâ Civitate ferenda non essent, tulimus, et perpeffi sumus.

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P R E F A C E.

I Anticipate the true Invective of those Hirelings who pretend to give the Appellation of Cowardice to every anonymous Attack on the Conduct of their Patrons : I should think it a Proof of Folly, not of Courage, unnecessarily to expose either my Character or my Person to the officious Assassination of ministerial *Marksmen*.

I have

P R E F A C E.

I have mentioned some Gentlemen with much Freedom, whom, I believe, in their private Lives to be Men of Honour, and of amiable Manners : I am sorry that their public Deviations from Rectitude have made them the just Objects of Censure.

Mihi Spe, Metu, Partibus Populi,
Animus liber est : Omnes Reipub-
licæ inimicos ultrò semper laceffam,
soli æquus Virtuti atque ejus Amicis.



JANUARY 1, 1770.

MY LORD,

IT is an irksome and a painful task, for an ingenuous mind to use the language of hostility against a Nobleman of your Grace's rank, fortune, accomplishments and address. Yet occasions may exist, in which the artificial dictates of worldly politeness ought to give way to the heartfelt impulses of a well-founded resentment. The man of fashion and the *honest* citizen cannot always go hand in hand: the grasping obsequiousness of a Lord Chamberlain, and the independent virtue of Lord Rockingham,

B

will

will often, when the *general* good is at stake, be found discordant and irreconcilable qualities.

As I am one of those who wish with the latter to be actuated by the warmth of public integrity, and not by the lip-deep patriotism of polished selfishness; I shall make no apology for the freedom with which my pen is likely to run through the course of the following pages. I feel only for their probable inefficacy.

Your confidential, cringing Secretary will think my style too uncourtly for your Grace's attention: the simpering Mr. Cooper will assure you upon his honour that public integrity is a non-entity; and Mr. Rigby, in the easier language of uncultivated nature "will be damn'd if there be any such thing"; Sir Fletcher will advise your Grace to persevere in a callous contempt for what he calls, the affected clamours of a malevolent and disappointed faction. The encouraging

raging smiles of our gracious and deluded Sovereign will not be wanting to your consolation : * accursed be those ministers, whose wicked abuse of his confidence hath so long induced him to turn a deaf ear to the groans of his loyal, irritated, and tortured people !

The united prayer of millions is thought the subject of ridicule : it would be madness then to expect your Grace to attend to the weak voice of an anonymous individual. I know you to be intoxicated by the lucrative sweets of *your* mode of administration : I know my own inability to gratify the wishes of my countrymen by persuading you, to hide your head in that obscurity to which a regard to its safety ought to lead you, and for which its political incapacity designed you.

B 2

“ Yet

* Ita cuique eveniat, ut de Republica Quisque mereatur

“ Yet let me wring your heart ; for so I shall,
 “ If it be made of penetrable stuff,
 “ If damned custom have not bras’d it so,
 “ That it be proof, and bulwark, against
 sense.”

I wish to meet your Grace on public grounds only, as the chief minister and chosen adviser of the most amiable of Princes. I cannot submit therefore to tread the dirty paths of those writers, who pretend to have traced your steps through a tasteless indecency in your amours, a perfidy in your private friendships, and a despicable meanness in your domestic conduct, the foundations of such charges were perhaps imaginary.--- It can hardly be credited, that your Grace, loaded as you are with hereditary and *acquired* affluence, can support wranglings on minuteneesses of parsimony, which even a foreign valet cannot hear without a blush ; or, that no deserving men are attached to you, except the very few of that class, to whom the exercise of your influence over a
misguided

misguided master hath made the parade of gratitude a matter of decency.

I rank the absurdities grounded on the softer passion, as the most venial of human imperfections : I shall not therefore, with the multitude, accuse your Grace of having pursued (and that not in the heyday of your blood) an adulterous lust with all the unguarded folly of boyish effeminacy. Such invectives against a public minister, when founded on facts unconnected with the public welfare, are inconclusive, and impertinent. The gratification of this sensuality will generally be confined to its congenial darkness ; and the First Lord of the Treasury, however amorous, will seldom exhibit his transports with such public proofs of folly, as to destroy that opinion which foreign ministers ought to have of the wisdom and gravity of the English Councils.

Nothing less than the conviction of my own senses shall ever prove to me, that
the

the * English Prime Minister can, in a public theatre, in the presence of his countrymen, in the presence of the representatives of all the crowned heads in Europe, in the presence of his own most moral and most religious Sovereign, sit with doting fondness by the side of an antiquated Figure-dancer, remarkable only for the sickened features of stale beauty, the artificial vivacity of hackneyed prostitution, and the infatuated adorations of a silly keeper.

Your Grace's sudden alliance to the † house of Bloomsbury, hath given to the world an ample reparation for many violences offered to every idea of decency.

That tenderness which is due to real modesty, and to the amiable lady, who hath
deigned

* Urbis percurfatio comite tuâ Mimula ! nec id femel, sed sæpius : tuâ Ætas tales Lubidines ne per otium quidem, sine Dedecore attigerit.

† Quid enim unquam Domus illa viderat, nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more, et sanctissimâ Disciplina ?

deigned to receive you as the partner of her future existence dictates to me a silence on this subject. I submit with a wish for her sake, that such instances had not existed at a period of life, in which reason and discretion ought to have some predominancy over lust and absurdity.

I quit therefore the various illiberal anecdotes relative to your private conduct: I cannot be responsible for the authenticity of them all; neither would the recital of such memoirs * do any credit to your memorialist. At all events the resulting conclusions would be unsatisfactory; for the prevalence, of a profligate principle in the private connections of life, and of sordid avarice in domestic œconomy, is not perhaps *necessarily* incompatible with public spirit, and public integrity.

Your

* Stupra et Flagitia omittam---sunt quædam quæ honesté non possum dicere: Tu autem eò liberior, quòd Ea in Te admisisti, quæ a verecundo Inimico audire non posses.

Your Grace's first appearance on the political theatre was supported by every private and public advantage. You possessed the highest rank derived from an extraction *perhaps* royal; your property was *even then* very great, and your domestic character was rather amiable than otherwise.

Adultery, cuckoldom, and divorces were not at that time reduced to the easy and fashionable system at present so favourable to the caprices of the English nobility. Your sense of decency would then have shuddered at the idea of publicly committing your sons to the tuition of Mr. Jefferies, and your daughter to the guidance of Mrs. Haughton.

In private society your natural pride was concealed under the cloak of affability; your manner was attentive and engaging: your address in public was easy and spirited: your elocution was pleasing — your expressions elegant — and the quick succession of
your

your ideas bore every proof of a free and noble imagination.

“ In act most graceful and humane. You seem’d

“ For dignity compos’d, and high exploit :

“ But all was false and hollow.”

Your Grace’s heart was not known at this period to be a stranger to the warm feelings of convivial friendship. The frequent hours of affected sociability, which you contrived to steal from the nurture of an artificial character, were dedicated to Lord Temple, Mr. Wilkes, and their friends. The conversation of Mr. Wilkes was at this time your delight, his intimacy was your pride : in private you lavished the most extravagant praises on his political writings ; in public you defended them. Your paths were the same, the objects of your pursuits were different.

In October, 1761, the weak and wicked Earl of Bute forced Mr. Pitt to quit the helm of government. Mere cunning hath been called purblind wisdom: yet your Grace had foresight sufficient, instantly and loudly to profess a rooted detestation of the triumphant Favourite, and an *inviolable attachment* to the discarded Secretary. The Duke of Newcastle was dismissed in the month of May following, and the Duke of Devonshire was driven from the Royal Councils. The nation now saw the battalion of Pensioners headed by that consummate Captain the Earl of Litchfield; a great office of trust committed to the known integrity of Mr. Fox, and the post of ability to the strong brain of Sir Francis Dashwood.

The Thane in short became sole and shallow monarch of a Tory administration: and the glorious fruits of Mr. Pitt's victories, won by an incredible expence of national

tional blood, and national treasure were sacrificed to the conscious impotence, and corrupt avarice of his baneful successors.

The deity of your political idolatry, Mr. Pitt, now shone forth through the Northern cloud, in the full meridian of popular glory : and your Grace appeared the most active in the number of his friends ; in which list you were then particularly anxious to include Mr. Wilkes.

Mr. Grenville *began to be called* Prime Minister in April, 1763. The subsequent *branded* oppression of Mr. Wilkes, your Grace's show of friendly fidelity upon his imprisonment, the infamous and impudent treachery of Lord Sandwich, the convictions, outlawry, and following transactions, are too well known to require a repetition.

The administration of Mr. Grenville became insupportable, and he was glad to make the unexpected amendment of the

regency-bill in April 1765 a pretence for hostilities against the Favourite, and for his own dismissal in June following.

The leaders of the late patriot minority, now became the servants of that Prince whose interests they had long consulted in opposition to his prejudices. A few members of Wildman's club were left unsatisfied : but it made the nation happy to see Lord Rockingham First Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Portland Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Dowdeswell Chancellor of the Exchequer, your Grace and Mr. Conway Secretaries of State. The gratitude and regret of the well-wishers of this country will ever attend their remembrance of that short-lived administration : — the Scot, his curtain, his wires, and his puppets, were laid aside ; and the tragi-comedy of constitutional violence, and political blunders was for an interval of twelve months suspended. The dictates of wisdom and virtue were the sole motives of the Minister ;
and

and Sir George Savile was his confidential friend. A most tender regard was shewn to the rights and happiness of the people ; the internal prosperity, and external honour of the country were the objects of every public measure. The operation of General Warrants, and the Seizure of Papers were declared illegal : the detested Cyder-Tax and unhappy Stamp-Act were repealed : tranquility was restored to the colonies ; confidence and chearfulness to the kingdom. Your Grace too consulted the interests of your country, for you found those interests compatible with your own : but a doubt as to that essential occurring, you became instantly the gnawing worm in the bud ; and wearied with the cause of virtue, suffered your natural bias towards lucre and perfidy to prevail.

Unsuspecting virtue becomes an easy prey to hypocritical treachery. You found *means sufficient* to induce Lord Northington to undermine that minister to whose indulgence
he

he owed his very existence in office. The famous reconciliations and quarrels are not forgotten, by which you contrived to weaken and destroy the natural supports, and consequent permanency of this popular administration.

The arts of the Thane, ever anxious to give misery to this abhorred nation, ever prevalent over the credulous irresolution of our excellent Prince, crowned your labours with success. Lord Rockingham and many of his friends retired in July, 1766, without any emolument except a full knowledge of your Grace's real character; without any regrets except for their Prince and his people.

Lord Chatham's ill state of health soon left your Grace Prime Minister, and Lord Bute the late damned spirit of your political creed became the god of your adoration.

It

* It was not a natural idea to imagine that the exertion of power so acquired would be, in any degree, limited by the narrowing restraints of private principle or public virtue. You now ventured to turn your back upon the man, whose cause and persecution had been the great means of your elevation. Private stipulations are easily disavowed: but your actions convicted you of having bargained for his perpetual banishment. This base desertion was aggravated by an evasion full of wretched insolence and brutality.

Still however you professed to act under the banners of, and with the † most implicit obedience to Lord Chatham, in every instance

* *Nemo unquam Imperium Flagitio quæsitum bonis Artibus exercuit.*

† *Quis unquam Apparitor tam humilis, tam abjectus? Nihil ipse poteras, omnia rogabas.* CIC.

“ Mr. Wilkes must write to Lord Chatham: I do nothing without Lord Chatham.

instance wherein that pretext might be made a veil for your devotion to the unrelenting wickedness of the Favourite. — But the course of your transactions made it necessary for you to throw off the mask : — it now became evident to the world that the plausibilities of your past conduct had been (in the quaint language of Lord Bacon) the shifts of a mere formality, to make a superficies appear a body with depth and bulk : the petty points of cunning to maintain the unmerited credit of sufficiency ; the tricks of an inward beggar to uphold the report of affluence. From that moment to the present, uninfluenced by wisdom, unawed by principle, and unmoved by pity, you have trampled upon the liberties of this aggrieved nation, with a rod of iron in one hand, and the public purse in the other. From that moment to the present, tyranny and corruption have gone arm in arm with wickedness and folly.

When

When I accuse your Grace personally, of having acted during this horrid term of forty months, as if from a premeditated design to spread distraction and ruin through the realm ; it seems unnecessary to premise as a leading principle “ that the effect of the tools must be attributed to the guiding arm of the artificer.”

Lord Weymouth may dip his pen in blood at midnight, in order to issue illegal mandates to the soldiery for the butchery of the people ; Lord Barrington may desecrate the name of Majesty, by calling the massacre when committed a chearful performance of duty *, and by holding out the royal protection to assassins ; your Grace

D

may

* In Oppida Militum misera et crudelis Deductio ! Nonne igitur millies perire est melius, quam in suâ Civitate sine Aamatorum Præsidio non posse vivere ? SED NULLUM EST ISTUC, MIHI CREDE, PRÆSIDIUM ! Caritate et Benevolentia Civium Septum oportet esse, non Armis.

Cic.

may at the same time be panting in the withered arms of your mistress at Newmarket: yet it is too well known, that the slaves of office must be obsequious to the nod which may determine their existence. The creature must bow to its creator, and your Grace must be responsible for the venal cry, and prepared votes of your passive senate.

The dawning of your dictatorship threw light on this doctrine: the benign influence of Lord Rockingham had drawn virtuous and independent characters to the chief employments of government. The * forbidding eye of honour and integrity was likely to be a continual embarrassment to his successor: your Grace therefore, by deceiving some, by insulting others, and by disgusting all, obtained within four months the resignations of the Duke of Portland, the Earls of Scarborough, and Besborough,
Admiral

* *Improbis aliena Virtus semper formidolosa est.*

Admiral Keppel, Sir Charles Saunders and Sir William Meredith.

The high flying banners of prerogative were instantly raised, a power to suspend established laws by proclamation was asserted, and an eternal brand affixed to an action which in itself had merited the praises of mankind.

This attempt was made in a parliament which did not in every instance shew a proper attention to the birthrights of the subject; but there still existed some regard to the fundamental rights of the constitution. It was reserved for a future parliament to become the afflicting instrument of a visitation on the venality of constituents: the day was not yet come, in which those constituents were to find the rights of themselves and of their fellow-subjects betrayed by their own profligate and venal delegates.

The lenient measures pursued by Lord Rockingham and your Grace in regard to the Stamp-Act, had been followed by the gratitude, revived affection, and chearfulness of the Colonies. A happy interval now presented itself which ought to have been applied to secure their future attachment. Instead of which, the very same parliament which six months before had solemnly repealed the Revenue-Acts of America, was now brought back by Mr. Townshend under your Graces influence to an act of the very same nature, though upon a smaller scale. The melancholy folly of this measure hath not yet been generally considered with its deserved indignation : we have been deafened by the expression of our own more immediate miseries : the groans of our distant brethren are not yet heard : the fatal wounds given to our commercial interests are disregarded. Yet it is well known that the same general confusion and fury prevail which attended the Stamp-Act ; and that rebellion

rebellion has been delayed only by the hope of once more seeing a virtuous administration. In vain have their remonstrances been stifled by the suspension of all their assemblies : in vain hath a new and dangerous commission been hung over them : in vain hath been exerted the use of that military power which attends all the *striking* measures of your administration : wickedness and folly the great outlines of your system have ever been, like a positive and negative quantity in algebra, principles destructive of each other. You have in this instance as in others shewn a bloody inclination as to the ends, which have been fortunately frustrated by the insufficiency of the means. Two miserable battalions sent with every ensign of hostility and tyranny to a brave and numerous people can only serve to add fuel to flames. The respect which is due to *past* and *future* parliaments will not suffer me to state that frivolous, puerile, cruel punctilio, by which *your* managers of the House of Commons induced the

the

the House at the close of the last session, to defer all relief to a future year.

But I return to your first campaign : — the reduction of the Land-Tax had been thought reasonable by those who had borne the heat and burthen of a long foreign war, and had been actually carried against your wishes by a large majority. Your Grace's desultory system of œconomy was totally unable to repair the deficiency. Supplies too were wanting for the meditated plans of the approaching winter : the Treasury had been exhausted six months before by the wages of iniquity : similar calls were again made, and it was at all events to be replenished.

Upon your principles therefore you proceeded to the detestable expedient of drawing a temporary supply from the property of a great Trading Company : by influencing the foolish or feigned apprehensions of its weak or corrupt Directors. The facts
are

are recent, and fully exemplified *the science of state-squeezing*, founded on fictitious terrors, unmeaning promises, unjustifiable threats, and unintelligible distinctions.

It was said indeed that the ideas of forfeiture, parliamentary interposition, &c. were raised for the benefit of your Mistress, and her wretched sycophants, the hungry circle of your supper-parties : that emoluments did accrue to them may be true ; but those who know your Grace will not believe you to have been actuated by so distant a motive.

General alarm and consternation began to be the consequence of a general knowledge of your Grace's true character. The dependents of the house of Russell were vociferous for a share of the national spoil : and the majority of the House of Commons was maintained with difficulty. It became necessary to provide for the satisfaction of the one, and for the future security of the other

other at the approaching elections. The Thane proposed an administration to be formed on what he called a broad comprehensive plan, and your *coalition* with the Duke of Bedford's friends consequently took place on the 22d of December 1767. Pensioner Johnson in an æra less favourable to the Jacobites, would have called that coalition, “ the mere confusion of heterogeneous particles, necessarily corrosive of each other, and crowded into one cankered mass of contagious corruption.”

The nation saw with horror this arrangement of men, whose unprincipled manners, and notorious beggary had long been the objects of detestation and pity, but LORD SANDWICH has a right always to be excepted from a general description : the man, whom the honest indignation of his countrymen ought to have hunted from all human society, who had suborned a servant to the robbery of his master, and who had betrayed every idea of friendly faith, was
now

now intrusted with the circulating property, and private correspondence of the whole nation.

The public money had already been scandalously lavished on pensions and reversions, on appointments which did not exist, on designations not intended to take place: obsolete offices had been revived, new offices had been created; the rights even of the merchants had been arbitrarily invaded; it was not natural for your Grace to stop here; you were conscious *only* of a want of further power; you obtained a reinforcement, and proceeded with alacrity.

Nothing hath since been wanting to compleat the sum of our miseries: — we have seen the hand of power extended with violence to the confiscation of the landed interest; we have seen the darling privileges of the people invaded; interruptions given to the freedom of elections; the attendance of freeholders rendered dangerous

and even fatal to their persons; convocations of surgeons erected into criminal courts of the last appeal; witnesses hired to the oppression of innocence, and to the support of guilt; the military power deliberately, wantonly, and avowedly directed to the massacre of the peaceful subject; pensions not only given to bankrupt gamblers, and to disaffected pamphleteers, but to murderers; the blessed prerogative of pardon made the screen of the blackest crimes, and the royal prosecution the inexorable scourge of the most venial transgressions: finally, we have seen an attempt by one blow constructively to annihilate the whole legislative principle.

In stating this black catalogue I have purposely omitted * all mention of our ex-

* Neque enim OMNIA tua Flagitia effundam, quod si Sæpius decertandum sit, *ut erit* semper novus veniam: liberè quæ sentiam, de Republica dicam. Video autem quam sit odiosum habere eundem iratum et armatum, *cum tanta præsertim Gladiorum sit Impunitas.* Demonstro Vitia: tollas. Denuntio Vim, Arma: removeas.

Cic.
Ubi

ternal disgraces, and national dishonours ; the unhappy conduct now pursuing in Ireland ; the neglect of the Manilla Ransom, and the rights of a brave soldiery sacrificed to an undisputed breach of faith ; the abandonment of Corfica, and consequent loss of the Mediterranean ; the late negotiations as to the French flag asserted with folly, and given up with meanness ; are all subjects of most serious importance : but as materials of certainty are wanting, I shall leave them as they *now* appear, the mere marks of gross incapacity unsupported by any positive proof of a criminal motive.

I have alluded to your Grace's invasion of the landed property of the subject, and to the terrors of government holden out to the electors : but I shall not suffer that transaction to sculk under general words to the shades of oblivion.

E 2

Lord

Ubi autem Tu in Pace consistes ? Qui Locus Tibi in Legibus et Judiciis esse potest, quæ tu quantum in Te fuit Dominatu regio sustutisti.

Lord Bacon describes a character, the whole center of whose actions is himself, and who is capable of firing a palace for the sake of roasting his eggs : yet I do not believe your Grace to have been in this instance guided by any private views or secret animosities. It is not possible for the Duke of Portland ever to become an object of your jealousy ; for he can never adopt the principles by which you have acquired and retained your power : it is however a notorious fact that in this unjust and violent attack on private property, all the members of your Grace's board appeared the officious, double-dealing, sophistical agents of Lord Bute's son-in-law.

Is it necessary to refer to the written promise of Mr. Cooper given in the name of the board to the Duke of Portland, not to grant away his Graces property upon a bare suggestion, and without the fullest hearing ?

Is it necessary to add, that the grant was forthwith precipitately, and surreptitiously made; and that Lord North thought himself obliged as the mere ministerial deputy-clerk of the treasury to affix the seal of the exchequer—abandoning the remnant of his character, prostituting the dignity of his station, and destroying that mutual check of offices, which was meant to be the barrier against such incroachment?

Is it necessary to add, that you endeavoured to shelter this dark and vicious attempt to commit legal rapine, under the pitiful sanction of a poor, dependent, insignificant, unresponsible, deputy surveyor?

Notices of the grant so passed were posted up at every hedge ale-house in Cumberland, printed in hand-bills, on the model, and by the side, of Doctor Rock's productions, with the King's arms affixed to the lasting disgrace of his Majesty's ministers.

This

This however is not a singular instance of the credit of the prince and approbation of the people being equally disregarded. We have since seen an act passed for the payment of our Sovereign's debts at the expence of the public morality; by the conversion of the treasury into a gambling lottery-office; and this indecency was aggravated by a refusal to give any account of the causes of that immense deficiency.

But I cannot yet dismiss the grant made to Sir James Lowther and its consequences. The spirited and successful resentment of the gentlemen of Cumberland gave a pleasing proof to the nation that the contagion of your Grace's influence was confined to the atmosphere of St. James's and Westminster.

Sir George Savile's motion for an act to secure the *future* quiet of the subject was made on the 17th of February following: your Grace's dissent was signified by your representatives,

presentatives, and Sir George was induced to defer his motion to the next session, upon an implied promise from Lord North that it should then be supported by the ministry.

It is well known that this promise was afterwards totally disregarded, that as if you expected to perpetuate your tyranny you opposed any restrictive law, and added a breach of honour to many breaches of the constitution.

I could wish to remind the Chief Justice in Eyre of his silly duplicity on this occasion, and to ask him whether expressing to Sir George his warmest approbation of the bill, he did not desire to be employed “as heavy cavalry, light horse or infantry in support of it, in short to be posted in the most useful station of the debate?” Will it be believed by those who do not know Sir Fletcher Norton that he voted with the minority?

Boldness

Boldness (says a great writer speaking of impudence) is the child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts: Those he continued are the state of mountebanks, who want the grounds of science, and whose only essential is confidence. *Such* men are falsely thought to be expert in narrow deliveries and fine shiftings from the dangers of popular discontents; tho' in fact they be totally unskilled in liberal knowledge and in the great rudiments of political theory.

Yet this gentleman's * assistance was to be purchased (I confess that it would have been chimerical to have expected it gratis) by an enormous disbursement of the public money. A small fee would have been equally unsuitable to his character, and in-

* *Implicata Inscitia ejus Impudentia est, si nec sit quod scivem, nec facit quod pudentem decet: Reliquum est optare, ut quæ huic Homini de Republicâ statuenda placuerint, ea Dii immortales avertant.*

adequate

adequate to the *services* which he was shortly to perform. It seems almost unnecessary to remind your Grace of the particular services to which I allude:—on the death of Mr. Cook it became requisite to counteract the wishes of a respectable county, *and at all events* to gratify the rancorous resentment of an unforgiving minion *, by excluding Mr. Wilkes from a rightful seat in Parliament.

Sir Fletcher Norton naturally occurred to your Grace as the properest agent for this purpose; and Mr. Blackstone acceded as a volunteer in a premeditated plan to make an irreparable breach in the constitution of his country.

Mr. Wilkes was expelled upon a discretionary accumulated charge, under the shelter of which every member, who vo-

* Horum omnium Incendiorum Fax ! Ab hujus enim Scelere omnium Malorum Principium natum reperietis. Cujus enim Scelus in Scelere cognoscite.

ted, thought himself conscientiously at liberty to pursue his own particular opinion, or to gratify his own private wishes, resentments, prejudices and interests.

He was again returned, and voted to have been and to be incapable.

I shall not ask whether Sir Fletcher and Mr. Blackstone were present at this vote? Or whether afterwards professing themselves to have been absent, they supported Mr. Luttrell's admission, upon a regard to the honour* of the house, and to avoid contradictory decisions? As if honour were to be found in an obstinate disavowal of it; or as if the paths of rectitude were to be sought in a constant deviation from them.

Mr. Wilkes was once more set aside, and Mr. Luttrell upon the suffrages of a few

ministerial

* Quo in Proposito Nemo erat, qui in ipso Dolore Risum possit continere.

ministerial tradesmen † was declared duly elected.

It was in vain to object

That the principles of this constitution never meant to leave a *possibility* of legislation by representatives chosen on arbitrary pretences by themselves, or, in other words, by a very small part only of the voices of their constituents.

That it is the very essence of the representative-principle, that the right of election be controulable only by the law of the land : and that even parliament itself hath not a power to make a law destructive of the liberties of the people.

That the claim of the House of Commons to an exclusive jurisdiction *without appeal in all* matters of election, is the most aggravating objection to the power here

F 2

asserted

† CREDITE POSTERI !

asserted, which is only alarming because uncontrollable.

That all judgments derive their obligatory quality from a supposed conformity with pre-existing laws.

That the *mere* adjudication of a court though of competent jurisdiction, and subject to no appeal, cannot make the law of the land.

That the implied consequences of that vote would resolve all right into power, and leave the use of that power to the casual impulses of occasional policy and prejudices.

That the law of parliament can only mean the usage of parliament; and that the power of incapacitating is not only at war with every principle of the constitution, but that even the tombs of tyranny have

have in vain been ransacked for precedents in support of it.

That no precedents *can* exist which make inroads into the constitution, and which are destructive of fundamental rights.

That the simple power of expulsions is liable to objections, and at all events fully sufficient for every good purpose : for that partiality and precipitance are ever more likely to prevail on the side of the representatives, than weakness and obstinacy on the part of the constituents.

That this *must* be considered as an *attempt to level the very basis of the constitution*. And

That no * Englishman “ whose blood is warm within ” will feel the conflagration of his rightful liberties without the most fatal * indignation.

* LIBERTATES NOSTRÆ CONVELLI
SINE EXITIO CONVELLENTIUM NON
POSSUNT

BENEVOLENT OMNIPOTENCE
hath invariably connected infatuation with
wickedness as the principle of its destruc-
tion.

Your Grace now trembles at an enraged
nation, roused by this last act from the
stifness of mute astonishment.

POSSUNT. Magna igitur, ut spero, tua potius,
quam Reipublicæ Calamitate tentasti, quid ferre et
pati possumus.

END of the FIRST LETTER.

Hanc igitur Occasionem oblatam tenete, per Deos immortales, Cives carissimi ! Nihil est quod moneam Vos : Nemo est tam stultus qui non intelligat, si indormiermus huic Tempori, non modo crudelem, superbamque Dominationem nobis, sed ignominiosam etiam et flagitiosam ferendam esse. NOSTIS INSOLENTIAM ANTONII, NOSTIS AMICOS, NOSTIS TOTAM DOMUM.

Libidinosis, Petulantibus, Impuris, Impudicis, Ebriis SERVIRE, ea est summa Miseria summo Dedecore conjuncta.

AD DECUS ET LIBERTATEM NATI
SUMUS.

3 Phil. 14.

F I N I S.

The Printer desires the Excuse of the Author and Readers for many typical In-accuracies which the want of a proper Re-vival may have occasioned.